

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

435 Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household
Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman,
"De feitelijke toestand in
het gouvernementsgebied
van Celebes en Onderhorigheden, "
Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143 ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nootboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113]

2. Chr. Nootboom,
"Naar aanleiding van de
Rijkssieraden in Zuid-
Celebes /With Reference to
Regalia in South Celebes/, "
K. T., 1937, p. 168.

782 / 76 cont. /

1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

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At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

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Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

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A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no
continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

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602 In addition to this worship community, there are a number of extremely weak and small worship communities in a group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

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778 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

644 /77 cont. / 1. Ibid.

778 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

182 An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

114 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society
565 is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy,
"De standen bij de
Boeginezen en Makassaren,"
Bijdragen tot de Taal-,
Land- en Volkenkunde van
Nederlands-Indië, 1933,
Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.

565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond
historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articu-
lation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of
karaeng and non-karaeng, of the nobility and the people, came
into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit.,

p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to
the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing"
/aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The
transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be
feasible.

● 182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment.
Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The
marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two ele-
ments which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in
standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in
acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating
others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each
personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher
people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one
personally, within the bounds set by descent.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
● 182 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince.
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This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility
565 which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
154 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku

Natjiniku ianu

Nadjandjanku mole mole.

My implanted, straight
flowers,

My blooming tjampaga
flowers.

When N. N. sees me

He will not be able to turn
his eyes away from me.

834 157 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems
to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
men are at the same time those which they need for success in
● 182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the
qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences
their position in the community. Those who possess these
qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve
standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men,
women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

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1. Dutch influence is
observable in the Indonesian
term which is occasionally
used by modern Makassarese:
"seorang het," / "an 'it'
person." -- Ed. /.

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
82 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping.

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen to-
gether. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that
even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare
at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any re-
sistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quali-
ty of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together.
There is no dancing together. There are no pantun con-
tests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though
possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in pri-
vate. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might
be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such

836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry
her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not
virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may
get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is empha-
sized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There
are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?)
in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house,
then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the
man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of
matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with
Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tenden-
cy toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The
man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs
to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not
leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They
said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

6. tjera empat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ěppa, lima, ěneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague.

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera empat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be.

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands.

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago.

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They

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771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paepo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
[759] it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also